

Nominalized clauses in Makasar

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This paper mainly deals with clause nominalization in Makasar, a language of South Sulawesi in Indonesia. Relative clauses are examined first and it is shown that there are few restrictions on positions which can be relativized. The remainder of the paper looks at clauses in which possessive morphology appears in place of the usual absolutive enclitics, most commonly resulting in exclamative or temporal nominalizations.

1. Introduction

Makasar¹ is one of the larger regional languages of eastern Indonesia, spoken in and around the city of Makassar in the province of South Sulawesi. The number of speakers is estimated at about two million (Jukes 2006), making Makasar the second largest ethnic group in Sulawesi — the largest being Bugis with an estimated five million (Lewis et al. 2016). Makasar is still widely spoken, though there has been a significant shift away from it in Makassar city itself where it is being overtaken by Makassar Indonesian (Jukes 2014).

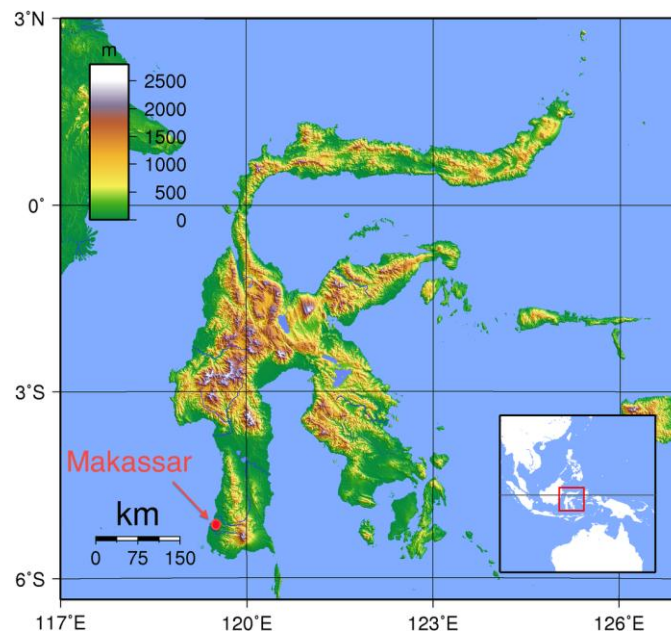


Figure 1. Sulawesi and Makassar

1.1 Basic clause structure

Makasar has highly productive affixation and a system of referencing arguments on the predicate with clitic pronouns ('argument indexes' to use Haspelmath's (2013) terminology). These clitic pronouns follow an ergative/absolutive pattern while the order

¹ Also referred to as Makassar, Makassarese or Macassarese — the endonym is *basa Mangkásara*. Here 'Makasar' reflects the preferred form for the language and the people, while 'Makassar' follows the official Indonesian spelling for the name of the city.

of full noun phrases is relatively free. The clitic pronoun system is shown in Table 1, along with the associated free pronouns and the possessive suffixes which will be the focus of Section 3.²

Table 1. Pronominal elements

	Free Pronoun	Proclitic (ERG) ³	Enclitic (ABS)	Possessive suffix (POSS)
1s	<i>inakke</i>	<i>ku=</i>	<i>=a'</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2 fam	<i>ikau</i>	<i>nu=</i>	<i>=ko</i>	<i>-nu</i>
2 pol/1pl inc.	<i>ikatte</i>	<i>ki=</i>	<i>=ki'</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1 pl exc. ⁴	<i>ikambe</i>		<i>=kang</i>	<i>-mang</i>
3	<i>ia</i>	<i>na=</i>	<i>=i</i>	<i>-na</i>

Examples (1) – (3) illustrate simply how the clitic pronouns function to index arguments in intransitive and transitive clauses.

- (1) *tinroi iAli*
 tinro =i i Ali
 sleep =3ABS PERS Ali
 ‘Ali sleeps.’
- (2) *kuciniki iAli*
 ku= cini' =i I Ali
 1ERG= see =3ABS PERS Ali
 ‘I see Ali.’
- (3) *naciniki iAli iUdin*
 na= cini' =i i Ali i Udin
 3ERG= see =3ABS PERS Ali PERS Udin
 ‘Ali sees Udin OR Udin sees Ali.’

Note that S (intransitive subject) in (1) and P (transitive patient) in (2) and (3) are indexed in the same way with an ABS enclitic, while A (transitive agent) in (2) and (3) is indexed with an ERG proclitic. In both (1) and (2) it would be more usual to omit the full NP *iAli* if Ali’s identity is already clear from context, while (3) shows that constituent order does not mark grammatical relations. For more detail on the complexities of the system see Jukes (2013) and (2006).

It is important to note here that in general arguments must be definite to be indexed with clitic pronouns. 1st and 2nd person arguments are indexed by default, as are named

² The distinction between affixes and clitics can be drawn partly on phonological grounds — affixes are counted as part of the word when stress is assigned, while clitics are not.

³ Abbreviations are: ABS absolutive, AF actor focus, BEN benefactive, DEF definite, EC ‘echo’ or paragogic syllable, ERG ergative, FUT future, INTR intransitive, LIM limitative, LOC locative, NEG negative, NVOL non-volitional, PERS personal prefix, PFV perfective, POSS possessive, PREP preposition, PRO pronoun, PROH prohibitive, PASS passive, SBJV subjunctive, STV stative, TR transitive.

⁴ The 1st person plural exclusive category lacks a proclitic form and is considered archaic.

individuals, but 3rd person argument NPs typically become definite by being marked with the affixal clitic $\equiv a$ (the label is from Basri, Broselow & Finer 1999). Phonologically this behaves like an affix (i.e. it is counted for stress) following a vowel-final base, as in *batúa* ‘the stone’; but like a clitic (not counted for stress) following a consonant-final base, as in *kóngkonga* ‘the dog’, *júkuka* ‘the fish’. Another way in which it behaves like a clitic is that it attaches after Echo-VC (Jukes 2006:98), a phonological process in which a paragogic syllable is added to roots ending in /s/, /l/, or /r/, eg. *pásaraka* <pasar-EC $\equiv a$ > ‘the market’. A geminate palatal glide –yy– is inserted when $\equiv a$ is suffixed to bases ending in *a*, as in *matáyya* ‘the eye’.

Example (4) shows how $\equiv a$ marks a noun as definite or specific, in this case after being introduced by the existential verb *nia*:

- (4) *Nia' se're romang, anjo romanga tanikana–kanayai lompona siagáng luara'na...*
 nia' se're romang anjo romang $\equiv a$ ta= ni– kana– kana –a =i
 exist one forest that forest \equiv DEF NEG= PASS– RDP– word –SBJV =3ABS
 lompo -na siagáng luar -a' -na
 big -3POSS with wide -EC -3POSS
 ‘There was a forest, that forest’s size and width cannot be described...’

Indefinite arguments are not cross-indexed with pronominal clitics, as shown by the difference between sentences with indefinite and definite P:

- (5) *angnganrea' unti*
 aN(N)– kanre =a' unti
 TR– eat =1ABS banana
 ‘I eat a banana.’
- (6) *kukanrei untia*
 ku= kanre =i unti $\equiv a$
 1ERG= eat =3ABS banana \equiv DEF
 ‘I eat the banana.’

In (5) *unti* ‘banana’ is not cross-indexed and the ABS enclitic indexes the 1st person agent, while in (6) the ABS enclitic indexes *untia* ‘the banana’.

2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are clausal modifiers of nominal heads. Makasar does not have a dedicated RC marker,⁵ instead the clausal modifier simply follows the head. RCs can be headed by core and semi-core arguments, as well as non-core goals and instruments. The head is not cross-indexed within the RC. There are few examples of headless RCs.

2.1 RCs on core arguments

For the purposes of this paper I am assuming that core arguments are S, A, and P, or those which would normally be cross-indexed with a clitic pronoun. Indefinite P which is obligatory but not cross-indexed is analysed as semi-core (Arka 2005, see Jukes 2013).

⁵ Unlike the related languages Selayar and Konjo which have RC markers *tu* for humans and *nu* for non-humans, from *tau* ‘person’ and *anu* ‘thing’ respectively (Finer 1997, Friberg 2002).

There are only a few examples of RCs modifying indefinite heads, such as in the following examples with relatives on indefinite S, P, and A, respectively:

- (7) *tau battu ri Jepang*
 tau battu ri Jepang
 person come PREP Japan
 ‘A person who came from Japan.’
- (8) *tau nabuno sorodadu*
 tau na= buno sorodadu
 person 3ERG= kill soldier
 ‘A person killed by a soldier.’
- (9) *sorodadu ammuno tau*
 sorodadu aN(N)– buno tau
 soldier TR– kill person
 ‘A soldier who killed a person.’

These are extremely rare — in my corpus they only arise through elicitation, though there are also some examples in some grammar notes made by the Dutch linguist A.A. Cense.⁶ There may be discourse-related reasons for this rarity, on the assumption that generally an entity which is discourse-prominent enough to have a relative clause attached to it, is also prominent enough to be considered definite. Alternatively these constructions might be avoided because they are formally identical to clauses in which an indefinite argument has been focused by putting it in pre-predicate position (Jukes 2013). Thus, clauses (7) – (9) can legitimately be understood as independent clauses with the following meanings: (7) someone came from Japan, (8) someone was killed by a soldier, (9) a soldier killed someone.

In the vast majority of examples the NP is definite, and there is a distinctive use of the definite affixal clitic $\equiv a$, which attaches to the verb inside the relative clause, as follows:

- (10) *tau battua ri Jepang*
 tau battu $\equiv a$ ri Jepang
 person come \equiv DEF PREP Japan
 ‘The person who came from Japan’ (head = S)
- (11) *tau nabunoa sorodadu*
 tau na= buno $\equiv a$ sorodadu
 person 3ERG= kill \equiv DEF soldier
 ‘The person killed by a soldier’ (head = P)
- (12) *sorodadu ammunoa tau*
 sorodadu aN(N)– buno $\equiv a$ tau
 soldier TR– kill \equiv DEF person
 ‘The soldier who killed a person’ (head = A)

⁶ These notes were part of the collection of the Netherlands Royal Anthropology Institute (KITLV) with the reference HISDOC Or545.43. With the closure of the KITLV library these are now found in the Leiden University Library. There are several constructions which I have only found in these notes, however I have checked them with native speakers who found them acceptable if archaic.

If P in an A-headed relative clause is indefinite, as exemplified in (12), it is not cross-referenced within the relative clause by an =ABS clitic pronoun. However, if P is definite, as exemplified in (13), it is cross-referenced, as indicated by the enclitic =i after the definite marker. The verb is also marked with the Actor Focus prefix aN– (Jukes 2013).

- (13) *sorodadu ambunoai taua*
 sorodadu aN– buno ≡a =i tau ≡a
 soldier AF– kill ≡DEF =3 person ≡DEF
 ‘The soldier who killed the person.’

Sentences (14) and (15) show relative clauses headed by A and P respectively within simple matrix clauses.

- (14) *Tau ambunoai tedonga ammotere'mi*
 tau aN– buno ≡a =i tedong ≡a amm– oter =e' =mo =i
 person AF– kill ≡DEF =3ABS buffalo ≡DEF INTR– return =EC =PFV =3ABS
 ‘The man who killed the buffalo went home.’
- (15) *Tedong nabunoa iBaso' lompoi*
 tedong na= buno ≡a i Baso' lompo =i
 buffalo 3ERG= kill ≡DEF PERS Baso' Big =3ABS
 ‘The buffalo that Baso' killed was big’

When NPs containing relative clauses appear in pre-predicate position with respect to the matrix clause (i.e. in focus position), they are cross-referenced with clitic pronouns in the matrix clause as shown by =i on *lompo* in (15), unlike simple focused NPs in the same position (e.g. *tedonga lompo* < buffalo≡DEF big> ‘the buffalo is big’). Note though that the NPs are not restricted to pre-predicate position, *Lompoi tedong nabunoa iBaso'* is also acceptable.

Relative clauses may themselves contain verbal complements; the following shows a P-headed relative clause with an infinitival complement *a'bicara* ‘speak’, the whole modified by a temporal adverb:

- (16) *Bura'ne kuagánga a'bicara sumpaeng nakana mae ri nakke nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi*
 bura'ne ku= agáng ≡a aC– bicara sumpaeng na= kana
 man 1ERG= accompany ≡DEF INTR– speak earlier 3ERG = say

 mae ri nakke nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi
 toward PREP 1PRO be pig forest here if/when night
 ‘The man with whom I talked earlier said to me there are wild pigs here at night.’

In ditransitive clauses, Donor and Recipient may head RCs as in (17) and (18) (in which the Theme is indefinite):

- (17) *tau ansareako baju*
 tau aN– sare ≡a =ko baju
 person AF– give ≡DEF =2fABS shirt
 ‘The person who gave you a shirt.’

(18) *tau nusareai baju*

tau nu- sare ≡a =i baju
 person 2fERG- give ≡DEF =3ABS shirt
 'The person to whom you gave a shirt.'

As in main clauses, definite Theme is licensed by the use of the benefactive suffix *-ang*. The definite marker is placed between *-ang* and the enclitic pronoun:

(19) *tau ansareangako anjo baju*

tau aN- sare -ang ≡a =ko anjo baju
 person AF- give -BEN ≡DEF =2fABS that shirt
 'The person who gave you that shirt.'

Definite Theme may also head RCs:

(20) *baju kusareangako*

baju ku sare -ang ≡a =ko
 shirt 1ERG- give -BEN ≡DEF =2fABS
 'The shirt I gave to you.'

2.2 RCs on non-core arguments

A goal (normally an oblique in a prepositional phrase) may become the head of an RC, but the preposition is omitted and the locative applicative *-i* is used. It does not appear possible to relativize on a source.

(21) *sikola namangéia aganku bajiki*

sikola na= mange -i ≡a agang -ku baji' =i
 school 3ERG= go -LOC ≡DEF friend -1POSS good =3ABS
 'The school my friend goes to is good.' (cf. *mangei aganku ri sikola* 'my friend goes to school')

(22) *tau kubuntúlia anne karuénga napauanga' nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi*

tau ku= buntul -i ≡a anne karuéng ≡a na= pau -ang
 person 1ERG = find -LOC ≡DEF this afternoon ≡DEF 3ERG= say -BEN

=a' nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi
 =1ABS be pig forest here if/when night

'The person I met this afternoon, he told me there are wild pigs here at night.' (cf. *a'buntuluka' ri tau* 'I met with a person')

An instrument may be relativized upon in two ways. One is to use the suffix *-ang* in its function of licensing an instrument (Jukes 2006:302):

(23) *sele' nibunoangai tarangi*

sele' ni- bunu -ang ≡a =i tarang =i
 kris PASS- kill -BEN ≡DEF =3ABS sharp =3ABS
 'The kris he was killed with was sharp.'

Alternatively instruments may simply be expressed by using the verb *pake* 'use', with a VP complement:

- (24) *lading kupakea ammolong juku' lading pokkolo'*
 lading ku= pake \equiv a aN(N)– polong juku' lading pokkol =o'
 knife 1ERG= wear \equiv DEF TR– cut fish knife blunt =EC
 'The knife that I used to cut fish was a blunt knife.'

2.3 Headless RCs

Headless RCs are rare — instead *anu* 'thing', *tau* 'person', or a demonstrative will usually act as head (recall that in the related languages Konjo and Selayar reduced forms *tu* and *nu* function as relativizers).

- (25) *anjo/anu kukanrea*
 anjo/anu ku= kanre \equiv a
 DIST/thing 1ERG= eat \equiv DEF
 'That/the thing that I ate.'

There are occasional examples of headless relatives, such as the following from the Gowa Chronicle:⁷

- (26) *ma'gauka. ri Marusu'. nikana. Patanna Langkana.*
 maC– gau' \equiv a ri Marus =u' ni– kana pata -nna Langkana
 INTR– action \equiv REL PREP Maros =EC PASS– say owner -3POSS Palace
 '(The one) who ruled in Maros was called Patanna Langkana.' (KIT:1.12)

There is also another example from Cense's grammar notes, which again uses *-i* to denote a goal:

- (27) *tanaasseng lanajappáia*
 ta= na= asseng la= na= jappa -i \equiv a
 NEG= 3ERG= know FUT= 3ERG= walk -LOC \equiv DEF
 'He doesn't know (where) he's going.' (Or545.48)

3. Possessive-marked clauses

This section discusses clauses with possessive morphology, that is to say clauses in which a suffix from the POSS set (see Table 1) appears in place of the expected ABS enclitic. These suffixes typically mark the possessor on a possessed NP, e.g. *kongkong-ku* <dog-1POSS> 'my dog', *balla'-na* <house-3POSS> 'her/his house'. Possessive-marked clauses occur in three quite different types: RC-like possessive constructions, exclamatives/intensives, and subordinate temporal constructions.

3.1 Possessive-marked RCs

In these the POSS suffix is not attached to the noun, but instead at the right edge of the modifying clause, which may consist of a PP as in (29) and (30). Unfortunately, I have only three examples of these, all from Cense's grammar notes (Or545.48). Speakers judged them acceptable but archaic:

⁷ Patturioloang Gowa or 'Gowa Chronicle' is a history of the kingdom of Gowa which was the most prominent of the Makasar kingdoms (Cummings 2007).

- (28) *kalimbu'-ta-tassungkeku*
kalimbu' ta= taC- sungke -ku
mosquito.net NEG= NVOL- open -1POSS
‘My mosquito net which is not opened.’ (c.f. *kalimbukku ta-tassungke* ‘my mosquito net is not opened’)
- (29) *laisi'-ta-ri-nakkena*
laisi' ta= ri nakke -na
slenderness NEG= PREP 1PRO -3POSS
‘Her slenderness which is not for me.’

Example (30) shows a nested possessive construction resulting in two adjacent possessive suffixes:

- (30) *pa'ja ta-ri-kalengkuna*
[pa'ja [ta= ri kale -ngku] -na]
[good.complexion [NEG= PREP self -1POSS] -3POSS]
‘Her beautiful complexion which is not for myself.’

3.2 Exclamatives/intensives

Another (more common) use of possessive suffixes is their appearance on adjectival predicates with an exclamatory or intensifying function:

- (31) *Rannunna*
rannu -na
happy -3POSS
‘How happy s/he is!’
(cf. *rannui* ‘s/he’s happy’)
- (32) *Baji'na na kupisangkáiko ammantang*
baji' -na na ku= pisangka -i =ko amm- antang
good -3POSS COMP 1ERG= forbid -APPL =2fABS INTR- stay
‘How good that I forbade you to stay!’

Similar behaviour has been reported for Bugis (Sirk 1996:149) and *Tukang Besi* (Donohue 1999:480), as discussed by Kaufman as examples of ‘exclamative nominalization’ (2011:738-9).

3.3 Possessive-marked subordinate temporal clauses

In the other main use of possessive morphology on predicates, a possessive suffix can be placed on a predicate in the position normally reserved for an ABS enclitic, in which case a subordinate temporal clause (a when-clause) is formed. Example (33) shows this on the basis of an intransitive clause:

- (33) *Antamaku ri balla'na aganna akkuta'nammi Anthony ri aganna angkana ‘...’*
aN- tama -ku ri balla' -na agang -na aC- kuta'nang
AF- enter -1POSS PREP house -3POSS friend -3POSS INTR- question
=mo =i Antoni ri agang -na aN- kana
=PFV =3ABS Anthony PREP friend -3POSS AF- say
‘On my entering his friend’s house Anthony asked his friend, saying ‘...’.

Example (34) shows it on a transitive clause (*-na* is co-referent with the reached goal Malino):

- (34) *Kurapi'na Malino sengkang annganre ri warunga*
 ku= rapi' -na Malino sengkang aN(N)- kanre ri warung ≡a
 1ERG= reach -3POSS Malino on.the.way TR- eat PREP stall ≡DEF
 'On my arrival at Malino (I) stopped to eat at the warung.'

Similar constructions have been described for other South Sulawesi languages Bugis and Mamasa (Kaufman 2011:747) and Mori Bawah (Mead 2006).

If two consecutive clauses show verbs with possessive markers instead of enclitics there is a strong inference that the second clause is a result of the first with a kind of 'extended causation', as seen in the following examples:

- (35) *kucini'na a'lampana*
 ku= cini' -na aC- lampa -na
 1ERG= see -3POSS INTR- go -3POSS
 'When I saw him he (was scared and) left.'
 (lit. his I seeing, his leaving)
- (36) *kucini'na a'lampaku*
 ku= cini' -na aC- lampa -ku
 1ERG= see -3POSS INTR- go -1POSS
 'When I saw him I (was scared and) left.'
 (lit. his I seeing, my leaving)

These constructions could perhaps be analysed as equational constructions, e.g. 'his I seeing (is) his leaving' etc. Speakers agreed that in both these clauses there is a strong inference that the leaving happened because the POSS-marked S of the second clause was afraid or otherwise strongly compelled to leave because of what happened in the first clause. Compare a parallel example with enclitics, where there is a sequential reading but no inference of causation:

- (37) *kuciniki a'lampai*
 ku= cini' =i aC- lampa =i
 1ERG= see =3ABS INTR- go =3ABS
 'I saw him he left.' (no special reason)

Even an explicit linking with *ka* 'because' seems to carry less force:

- (38) *a'lampai ka kuciniki,*
 aC- lampa =i ka ku= cini' =i
 INTR- Go =3ABS because 1ERG= see =3ABS
 'He went away because I looked at him.' (maybe that was his signal to leave, or...)

This type of possessive construction must occur in matched pairs – either half would be ungrammatical in isolation.

- (39) **kucini'na*
 ku= cini' -na
 1ERG= see -3POSS
 'I saw him.'

Note that the extended causation need not always be negative as in the ‘was scared and left’ examples seen in (35) and (36). For example:

- (40) *kucini'nu rannuna pa'maikku*
 ku= cini' -nu rannu -na pa'mai' -ku
 1ERG= see -2fPOSS happy -3POSS breath -1POSS
 ‘When I see you I'm happy.’ (lit. my breath⁸ is happy)
- (41) *kulangngere'na anjo kelonga rannuna pa'maikku*
 ku= langnger -e' -na anjo kelong ≡a rannu -na pa'mai' -ku
 1ERG= here -VC -3POSS that song ≡DEF happy -3POSS breath -1POSS
 ‘When I hear that song I'm happy.’

That being said, many of the examples I was able to elicit did have negative readings. As well as the ‘scared’ examples above, consider the following:

- (42) *kukanrena garringku*
 ku= kanre -na garring -ku
 1ERG= eat -3POSS sick -1POSS
 ‘When I eat it I (always and unavoidably) get sick.’
- (43) *kuinunnna ta'langngeku*
 ku= inung -na taC- langnge -ku
 1ERG= drink -3POSS NVOL- vomit -1POSS
 ‘When I drink it I (always and unavoidably) vomit.’
- (44) *kulangngere'na larroku*
 ku= langnger -e' -na larro -ku
 1ERG= here -VC -3POSS angry -1POSS
 ‘When I hear it I'm (always and unavoidably) angry.’

A connection can be made between the ‘extended causation’ of these constructions and the exclamative/intensive meaning described in 3.2. Kaufman earlier identified the similarity between nominalized when-clauses and exclamatives as presuppositionality: ‘both when-clauses and exclamatives refer back to a predicate (whether overt or not) from which they derive their reference (2011:748) and deriving ‘their illocutionary force in part by compelling the hearer to accommodate a presupposition’ (2011:750). Extended causation simply takes this a step further.

As a final example, (45) is a sequence of these constructions forming a kind of quotidian poem⁹ where the ‘extended’ meaning extends in a different direction. Rather than causation it instead has an iterative reading, showing that this happens again and again:

⁸ *Pa'mai* ‘breath’ is the most common metaphorical seat of emotions in Makasar, c.f. *heart* in English and *hati* ‘liver’ in Malay/Indonesian.

⁹ Spoken by Hasanuddin Salli in Malino, November 2003.

(45)	<i>Ta'bangkana a'murianna</i>	He startles, he wakes up
	<i>a'murianna cipuru'na</i>	He wakes up, he's hungry
	<i>cipuru'na angnganrena</i>	He's hungry, he eats
	<i>angnganrena bassoro'na</i>	He eats, he gets full
	<i>bassoro'na ti'do'do'na</i>	He gets full, he gets tired
	<i>ti'do'do'na attinrona</i>	He gets tired, he sleeps
	<i>attinrona ta'bangkana</i>	He sleeps, he startles.

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